601 They call each other by terms which signify degrees of kinship on the father's side or by marriage, as father, brother, cousin; others they call companion [compère].

551 572 They never name a person by his name, particularly if he is related. If they are compelled to name him, they say only half of the word. They often adopt the name of someone with whom they have contracted a particular friendship or companionship.

198 They have a jargon or special language (1) which they use in

1. Rom. version: "corrupt language."

dealing with us, and which is Spanish, French, and Carib all mixed up together.

[50] CHAPTER III

Their Religion, or Rather Superstitions

782 [771] It is better to say that the Caribs have no religion, because they do not even know the word for it, nor for prayer, church, or worship. They recognize, however, something in the way of a deity to which they render some duty, not by any love but merely for fear he will do them some harm. At the beginning of every revel or feast, they offer him the first morsels of the banquet. In a corner they put a matoutou (which is a sort of low stool made of rushes like their baskets) for him and place the best cassava they have upon it, along with gourds full of ouicou [a kind of beer], which is their usual drink. They do the same when they clear a wood to make a garden. They believe that this god eats what they offer him. Even though they find it as they left it, they say it is not the same. They believe there are [776] male and female among the gods, who are many. They often consult them, whether for the success of their wars or for the end of their sicknesses. The gods answer them, but here is how: there are 756 787 several of the Caribs, men and women, who are devoted and consecrated to these gods from their early youth, and who alone make them appear and speak to them. They are called boïé [boye] or boïaïko, and they fast for a long time and abstain from many things.

601 Some authors suspect the native Americans to be Jews exiled to these places. I do not know if they are, but I well know that the children of two brothers call themselves brothers, and male cousins marry female cousins born from their own aunts. Moreover, they often refer to a person as father of such a child, they never have surnames, they wash themselves frequently, and they oil their hair. 22 They never eat salt, fat, or pork, and they abstain from a number of 826 birds and fish. Still, I do not believe that at the present time they fast for religious motives -- except for the boyes -- because I have learned from them that if they eat pork they believe that their children will be born with twisted feet. If they eat parrot or manatee they believe that their children might have small, round eyes like those animals, and if they eat garfish or eel the children might have a tapered nose. However, nowadays they eat what we eat when they are among us. I have noticed that those Caribs who eat with us are the most frequently sick and die earlier. This is because the different qualities of our various meats alter their constitution. [275]

852 Eight days after the birth of a child they summon someone to 551 pierce his ears, his lower lip, and the place between his nostrils. They pass string through these places in order to make openings to attach the pendants when the child grows up. These pendants are sometimes made of small caracoli, or glass beads, while others only use five or six cotton threads. If they have pins or hooks they put these through the lower lip. They give the child his name at this same time. This name is very often that of a dead grandfather or a [775] dead grandmother in order to make him or her live again in the person of the child. When the child grows up it changes or retains the name as it likes. [287]

551 The Carib husbands and even their wives are rarely called by their names, and it seems criminal even to think of it. They only pronounce the first syllables, and even these are pronounced only in their absence, for in their presence they would be offended. They use circumlocutions, saying father of such and such a child, for they are not afraid of calling children by their names. In their drinking parties when they are half drunk they think it a great honor to be called by the name of the Arawak that they have killed. Captain Baron was called Callamiéna when he was in a state of drunkeness. He took another captain by the hand and in front of all the principal

guests at the drinking party said, "I desire to be named, name me." Then the one in front of him laughter and shouted "Hello, so and so." Captain Baron burst into roaring laughter, and he opened his basket and brought out a package of glass beads and rewarded in this way the honor that had been paid to him. [221] The mothers do not lack tender affection for their children, who while young are reluctant to leave their mother's breast during the day or even during the night. It is miraculous that the mothers do not smother them when they are drunk after the drinking parties, although I never heard tell of such an accident while I was among them. If their husbands leave them, the wives keep all the children, and do not give the husband any unless forced to do so, for when the children grow up they become a source of support and subsistence. [282]

All the Caribs, men and women, have the same hair style. In order that this hair style is made possible, soon after the child is born a woman is chosen who kneads the head to make it larger at the top and smooths the forehead to be sloping down to the eyes. She flattens the forehead as well as the head, for they think that their beauty depends upon this. All the hair on the front of the head falls in front and is cut as it is done for small girls in France. The side hair covers only the ears, and both men and women let the rest of their hair fall on the back of the head. The mother, for almost two years, sits down during the day and puts one of her child's legs on one of her thighs with its head on her other thigh. When the child is asleep she opens her right hand and puts it on the child's forehead. She leans her left elbow on it and reclines her own head against it. She sleeps in this way with the child in order that the flattening persists. Because this is done they have big eyes which protrude from their heads. I have not noticed that this would cause their flat noses. [145]

The Carib women take a child by the hand and lift it high off the ground or from a hammock without worrying about hurting it. The child according to the habit which he has been taught places his bent left knee on the side of his mother, leaving the other foot hanging. The mother grasps him under the right arm and carries him in this way on a short trip. But if she should be traveling far she has a small cotton hammock which she puts around her neck and hangs on one side in which she carries the child. [311] As soon as the children are strong enough, their mothers put them in the middle of the yard where they have cleared out the stones. Here the children play, roll in the dust,

785 while others more robust satisfy themselves for nine or ten days with a bit of bread and water. If they did not hold to this rigorous abstinence they would be considered weaklings. They are also superstitious in their avoidance of salt, pig meat, tortoises, manatees, fat, eggs and a large number of animals which would have been considered unclean according to the law of Moses. They also have a custom of marrying female first cousins; cousins of the sons of two brothers call themselves brothers. They have no names and they ordinarily call a man the son of so and so, as the Jews are accustomed to do. This has given rise to the opinion that they were descended from Jews, but no reasons are provided by them which might indicate that they practice all of these customs for religious reasons, so that it is not worth while to infer any consequences from this fact.

775 773 They believe in the immortality of the soul, but say that each man has three souls; one in the heart, one in the head, and another in the arm. The soul in the heart manifests itself by its throbbing and goes straight to heaven upon death to be very happy there. The souls in the arm and head manifest themselves by the beating of the pulse and throb of the arteries. They become maboyas, that is to say, evil spirits, which they believe to be the cause of everything sinister and disastrous.

Concerning Birth, Education and Marriage, of the Caribs

600 Since nature was corrupted by the wickedness of our first parents, it has been absolutely necessary to have laws to enlighten reason and to direct it without error to the correct path of truth. It should not astonish us if the birth, life, and customs of our unenlightened Caribs are filled with superstition, errors, and nonsense which brings amusement at the same time that it brings tears to the eyes of those who have true Christian sentiments.

844 Among their nonsense which upset me the most was a superstition practised by men at the birth of their children. Women give birth with little pain, and if labor is difficult for some of them they know how to relieve it using a special root as a remedy and which has an

584 —the female first cousin descending from the female line does belong to them—they ask her father for her, for they seldom marry against
582 the will of their parents. They have no degree of consanguinity forbidden among them, and it has happened that fathers marry their own daughters from whom they have children, and mothers marry their sons, although this is a very rare thing. It is quite common to see a
[595] case where two sisters have married the same man, and sometimes a
584 man marries a mother and her daughter. If a girl marries a captain or the son of a captain she is led to her husband by her father and her mother, and she carries her husband's dinner to him. The two of them eat it together, sitting on the ground in the center of the house without any other celebration, except perhaps for a little drinking party, that is to say a little debauchery between the parents, although this
591 is quite rare. The woman then lives with her husband. When a man who is not a captain marries a girl, he goes from his own place of residence as we have said, and lives in the house of his father-in-law.
606 In this situation the women have the advantage over their husbands, for they may speak to all kinds of people while the husband does not dare to speak to the parents of his wife, unless this restriction is dispensed with either by their age or by their drunkeness. They avoid meeting each other by making devious paths. If they are surprised in a place where they cannot take back what they have said, the one spoken toturns his head to one side in order to avoid looking at the man who speaks, if he must hear him. This strange custom was reported to me by a young man who had been a slave among them for
551 a long time. Husbands and wives change their names when they are married.

595 Polygamy is common among them and almost all of them have several wives and sometimes even six or seven. They even have wives in different islands where they are accustomed to go. It is chiefly the captain who boasts of having a large family in order to gain more credit among his people and to render himself more formidable to his enemies. A Carib who has several wives builds a small house for each of them. The husband visits them there so that
[605] for one month—they count by moons—he lives with one wife, and another month with another. Concerning this point it appears that there is no kind of jealousy among them. Women of Europe, call it a miracle if you wish!

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

LIFE CYCLE

Birth and childhood.—Sexual intercourse was forbidden during pregnancy. The birth often took place by a fire. If it caused trouble, the woman drank juice made from a certain root. Afterward she washed the child in a stream and placed it in a tiny hammock or on a couch of leaves. If the birth had taken place at night, the men of the house bathed themselves so that the child would not catch cold.

For several days after birth the mother fasted, eating only dried cassava and drinking warm water. The father, on the other hand, practiced the couvade. Immediately after the birth he complained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock. He remained there for at least 40 days after the birth of his first child, and for 4 or 5 days after the birth of other children. During this time he went out only at night and avoided meeting anyone for fear that they might tempt him to break his fast, thereby making the mother sick and the child cowardly. At first he took no food. After 5 days he was permitted to drink corn beer and after 10 days to eat manioc bread in increasing quantities. He ate only the insides of the bread, the crusts being hung up in the hut until the end of the 40-day period, when they served as the basis for a feast in the village carbet. Preceding the feast the father was brought into the carbet, was stood on two large flat cakes of cassava, and was scarified by two men chosen by the carbet chief. A mixture of urucú, pepper seeds, and tobacco juice was rubbed into the cuts, and the blood which fell from them was daubed on the face of the child so that he would have the courage shown by the father in undergoing scarification. The man was then fed the two cassava cakes upon which he had stood and also fish, which he had to spit out. He went back to bed for several days and had to abstain from the flesh of animals for a period of 6 months or a year, lest the child become deformed.[7]

The child received its first name 12 or 15 days after birth from a friend of the father who acted as godfather or godmother. The name was taken from that of an ancestor, from nature, or from something that had happened during birth, pregnancy, or the couvade. If the baby were strong enough to bear it, his ears, nose, and lips were pierced at the same time, but this might be deferred until 2 years had passed, when the child's hair was cut.

At first all children ate with the mother; when 4 or 5 years old the boys began to eat in the men's house. The fathers spent much time in training their sons in hunting, fishing, swimming, singing, basketry, making canoes, and particularly in shooting the bow and arrow, at which they had

[7] The accounts of the couvade vary considerably from source to source. The above version is taken largely from Davies (1666, pp. 336–338), with supplemental data from La Borde (1856, pp. 249–256).

5: Rouse E-4 (no date) 1948 ST13 Callinago ST13 (1650-1700)

to be so accurate that they could hit a bough. The girls learned from their mothers how to cook, till the fields, weave cotton, and make hammocks.

Puberty and marriage.—At the age of puberty both sexes fasted for 3 or 4 weeks and had their skins scarified with agouti teeth. This was the time when the girls assumed the aprons and cotton anklets of women. Thereafter they were not allowed to run free but had to remain close to their mothers.

The youths were taught to value courage and endurance and were periodically rubbed with the fat of slaughtered *Arawak* to make them brave. When they had reached the age of becoming warriors they were tested in these qualities. The youth having been seated on a stool in the center of the carbet, his father crushed a bird over his head, scarified his body, and rubbed the cuts with pepper sauce. Then the boy ate the heart of the bird, to give himself courage, and his father beat him. He had to endure this entire ceremony without flinching. When it was over he lay in a hammock and fasted for 3 days. Then he demonstrated his skill in wielding a club and was accepted into the company of the warriors, being given a new name. His father gave a feast in celebration.

Specialization in shamanism began in childhood, when the candidate abstained from several kinds of flesh and underwent rigorous fasts. At puberty he was apprenticed to one of the older shamans, after going through a scarification ceremony comparable to that given to warriors.

The *Carib* youth were supposed to be chaste. Except for prostitutes, contact between young men and young women was tabooed. So was marriage with mothers, sisters, and step-sisters. Cross-cousin marriage was preferred, the sororate also being practiced, but a man was allowed other wives as well. Fathers presented their daughters to the successful warriors at the feast following each raid, and the warriors could also marry the women they had taken captive during the raid. The men with the most wives were considered the most prominent.

Girls often became engaged during childhood and sometimes were brought up by their fiancé's family. The groom usually had to obtain the consent of the prospective bride's parents. There was no ceremony except for an occasional feast, the only time the wife ever ate with her husband. Residence was matrilocal, except in the case of a chief. Each wife lived in a separate hut in her own village, often on a different island. The wives were treated as servants; they dressed and fed their husbands, cleaned and thatched the houses, tilled the fields, and carried all burdens. Their husbands could abandon them without ceremony, in which case the younger children remained with the mother and the older children were divided according to sex. Teknonymy was practiced, and a man had to avoid speaking to his wife's relatives.

Death and burial.—The *Carib* sometimes killed the old and the infirm. They feared the dead and never mentioned their names. When a man

6: Taylor E-5 (1930-1937) 1938
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553 probability, of their forefather's conversion and of the name of his white godfather. Such today are Dauville, Lucien, Viville, John, Darroux, Benjamin, etc. But already these names are falling into disuse and being forgotten even by their bearers, who designate the individual by attaching the patronymic to the name—so, Norbert John, the son of John Jules, the son of Jules Benjamin. Friends sometimes "swap" or exchange names.

551 The Carib of Dominica retains the Indian's traditional dislike of the indiscriminate use of his name. In ordinary forms of address he almost always uses "compère," "commère" (the old "gossip"), "cousin," "chef," "babe," "boy," etc. He habitually refers to people by a nickname (Popote, Fanfan) or by abbreviating the real name (Ma' Ham for Madame Hamilton). When traveling or staying in some other part of the island or abroad, he invariably changes his name, adopting for the time what Roth calls a "nom de voyage." The reason for this, as explained to me by a Carib friend, is that "nobody can do you anything (piai, charm) when they do not know your right name." This idea that the name is part and parcel of the thing or person to whom it belongs, and the adoption of a false denomer, in order to trick the nefarious genii, is, I believe, peculiarly Indian. Thus, before going to the provision grounds or to the woods [777 for food, a mother of the old school will tell her children that she is 784] going to "fouiller fourmis" (dig for ants), fearing that she would be unlucky and return empty-handed should she pronounce the real name, and say (for example) that she was going to look for wawa (wild yam: *Rajana cordata* L.).

576 Forms of greeting are seldom used by the Caribs. Even after a long absence, a man will arrive with a simple "I am come," and take leave, before a long separation, with no more than "I am going."

262 Women and children eat in the kitchen apart from the men and [264] after the latter have finished. I understand that this habit is peculiar, in Dominica, to the Caribs; though it would seem to be more a matter of convenience than custom in a community where the women do all their own housework. Vestiges of taboo seem to subsist with regard to the eating of certain foods. One old woman gave as the reason for not eating a species of sea crab, called àgaya, that the [842] latter sometimes "had to do with women." She averred that this crab, were it to meet a girl or woman on the beach, would crawl up and urinate on her leg, thus rendering her pregnant for him. We read that the Caribs of other days would not eat hen, turtle, or eel for fear of thereby acquiring the unworthy characteristics of these beasts. There are Caribs in Dominica today who, for similar reasons, will not touch the meat of shark, conger eel, or an elsewhere widely consumed variety of fish, locally known as "vive."

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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its tongue "to break the thread" (?) so that it may the sooner learn to speak. Then she stretches the limbs, pinches the nose, and "gives the head a nice shape" by pressing the forehead with her thumb-pads upward and backward from the supraorbital ridges toward the crown. This procteding is continued by massaging the forehead, using a circular and upward motion of the palm of the hand. No measures are taken today to maintain the head-shape thus given, and "only old-timers bother to make a child look nice, nowadays." A bulbous or protruding forehead is considered ugly.

The accouchée has to submit to a strict regime for forty days, but the newborn child is suckled in what to us is a haphazard way, given arrowroot or *Canna* starch and herbal teas from the start, and handled by all members of the household.

The baby-name given to the child at birth is today that by which it is registered; while the "true" name, chosen by the sponsor of like sex, is that now given in baptism. This rite, at which the parents do not assist, usually takes place a month or so after birth, and is followed by either a feast or dance or both. Godparents are chosen rather for their social or economic status than for any spiritual qualities. The relationship is, however, taken very seriously, and parents and godparents address one another as "compère" and "commère." The ears of female infants are pierced and a thread passed through the hole in order to keep it open until such time as rings are acquired.

Apart from the baby-name and patronymic (baptismal names are, at least among older Caribs, not easily divulged) modern Caribs are supposed to have surnames, which they call titres *titles*. But these are infrequently and irregularly employed, and usually consist of the given name of a grandfather or greatgrandfather. Brothers sometimes bear different "titles"! Illegitimate children take their father's name (as patronymic) and "title."

As soon as they learn to walk, Carib children follow their mothers or big sisters to the river morning and evening, and so acquire early a taste for bathing and the habit of carrying little calabashes of water or other loads more in play than in earnest. Soon their fathers or big brothers make for them tiny carry-alls (shoulder-baskets), traps, fishing rods, etc., so that play and work merge into one another. One of the few non-utilitarian amusements—for some grown-ups as well as for children—is to "run the waves" (courir lames), a local variety of surf-riding which Breton also recorded. When available, the "tote" of a canoe—a plank seat about 9 inches wide by 2½ to 3 ft long—is used; but with a favorable surf, very good "rides" may be had without it, merely by stiffening the body and using the outstretched hands as a rudder.

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11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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quand ils parlent en François avec lequel ils ont contracté amitié, le François donne son nom au Sauvage et le Sauvage le sien au François, s'il ne luy donne pas sa traite, au moins il le préfère aux autres, et cela n'est pas sans lui apporter quelque profit. 601

Unfortunately this gives us no information as to the implications of the relationship between Caribs. However, he elsewhere lists a term for *brother's friend* (see 52) of which he says:

Les Sauvages ont tous un amy particulier, auquel ils ont une créance toute extraordinaire chacun au sien, et ils l'appellent *ibaoüánale, nitignaom* [cf. matiaon nomêti *je n'en ay point*], l'amitié est bien telle qu'elle passe jusqu'aux autres frères, qui l'appellent le compère ou l'ami de leur frère.

The terms themselves may be explained as follows: i-bawínale *(one who) deals with me* (cf. bawíname *to trade, deal;* bawanaku or bawana-muku *dealer, merchant;* imále *with me, together with me*); ini-buynáliku *being dear to me* (cf. íbúynali *preference, love, friendship*); ni-tiñaǫ (or more probably ni-tʃyaǫ) *co-begetter, co-stock* (? cf. 10, 33, 34, also 19 "co-subduer"). No. 52 is the same as 99, ne ch. Although in- is used sometimes as a man's possessive *my*, ini- appears to be used here (and in 51, 54, 39, and 99) in the broad sense of *affiliate*. Thus ini-égali (54: "c'est le nom que prennent ceux qui raillent et bouffonnent par ensemble à toute rencontre") probably means *affiliate by forthrightness* (cf. alɔlégai *to joke* > álɔle *saliva, slaver;* ɛ̃-ekalé-k"a *to make outward, "to come out with it"*; ɛ̃ekai *to put out from*). No. 55, ibwinene, means simply *one dear to me*. The step-child—step-parent relationship is designated by terms 39 to 43. The women's term ni-rahíkayǫ *my step-child* (40) may be referred to 82 for the stem and to 38 and 59 for the suffix. The significance of the latter appears to be *he becomes (my child, etc.)* or rather *I be-child (him), I be-father (him), I put (him) before* (40, 38, and 59 respectively). The men's term, 39, ini-emútuli *step-child* appears to have the same stem as 81, *son* together with a suffix -tuli, meaning *put out* (cf. the Creole expression, zɛ̃fǫ̃ dehɔ *outside child* for one whose mother's husband is not its father). Nos. 41 and 42 are merely the men's words for *father, mother*, with the suffixed element -tɔni, which probably derives from tenéti *like, resembling;* while 43 is the woman's term for *mother*, with a suffix, -tonaru, which has a similar meaning to -tuli, *out from*.

The Caribs' preoccupation with names and naming is reflected in terms for *namesake* (45), *name-child* (46), and *name-giver* (47) (cf. aɛ̃á-ba-e *impose [a name] on him!*). No. 48 is given as the men's term for *(name-) sponsor* and the women's term for *chief, headman* (the men using úbutu *chief;* wayubutúliku *he is our chief*). No. 49 in-ebenébuli or y-ebénene *my sponsor (or) incisor,* 551

11: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1946
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55| comes from *ebène lancet*, *yebéni my lancet* (a hafted tooth of *Dasyprocta agouti*), and means literally *who released* (i.e. let blood) *from me*.

CONCLUSION

It will be apparent from the foregoing that the picture of Island Carib society in early colonial days, left to us by the French missionary fathers of the seventeenth century, contains many gaps and ambiguities which it is now too late to fill in and elucidate.

The story of the Carib conquest of the islands as told to Breton by "the Captains of the Isle of Dominica" is doubtless true enough in outline; but it does not help to fix the date or causes of the invasion. Skulls might remain intact for a long time in a dry cave—even though it was near the sea; and women who "kept something of their language" for four hundred years after Columbus' discovery of the Caribees, may well have done so during as long a period before that event. On the other hand, the realistic description of the leader of the invading forces, and the tradition of former "kings" (probably a pre-Carib institution) point—albeit for purely psychological reasons—to a not far distant era. It may likewise be inferred that the Caribs' acquaintance with the islands, and their hatred of Arawak, island- and mainland-tribes alike, went much farther back than this last, successful invasion.[11]

That they did not bring Carib women from the mainland appears, not only in their own story, but in the descriptions of the marriage system obtaining among them toward the middle of the seventeenth century. Had they done so, it is more than likely that some hereditary distinctions and privileges would have resulted; but we are expressly told that the children even of captive women were in no way discriminated against. A roving and warlike people, the Caribs had no use for hereditarily privileged classes; and while maintaining the general (Arawak?) custom of matrilocal, cross-cousin marriage, insured the strength of their own elected chiefs by making their and their sons' marriages patrilocal. Thus an Island Carib headman, or war-leader was able to take several wives without adding greatly to his own economic burden, and could count on the support of all his adult offspring and their spouses in the event of dearth, dispute, or warfare. Small wonder that men were willing to put up with some self-inflicted torture to prove themselves worthy of such a position!

That the Island Carib were and remained patripotestal cannot be doubted, and is evident both from the ease with which they are said to have disposed of

11 Guiana folklore suggests that Arawak and Carib were originally one people who split over sexual taboos or on account of a portion of the females crossing with foreign stock.

12: Taylor E-5 (ca. 1930-1937)1949
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plained of pains, went to a separate hut, and lay in a hammock."[38] Breton has answered this last statement by saying: "it is not likely that the husband should cry out like a woman in labour; on the contrary, I've seen them come from without, secretly and stealthily, a month after the birth, in order to make their retreat and fast."[39] This is, at least, more in accordance with all modern reports of the custom. Moreover, it is disconcerting if not misleading to insist upon the "otherness" of the father's part, after rightly noting that the restrictions affected both parents; especially since precautions similar to those characterizing the Carib's "couvade" were also taken at puberty, after the death of a relative or the slaying of an enemy, and by candidates for chieftaincy or shamanship. Breton nowhere mentions any special taboo on the names of the dead, while la Borde merely says that they were avoided so as not to evoke thoughts of death. The former does say, however, that names were not used as forms of address to any but children; and that everybody's real name was kept secret from all but intimates. And, while Breton mentions that his wife was the only woman who might eat with a man, his failure to report that even this was limited to the occasion of their marriage suggests that there was no hard and fast rule about such matters. A summary cannot include everything; but the studied omissions or contradictions of a man like Breton, who had read, before publishing his own work, the accounts of Armand de la Paix, du Puis, du Tertre, and Rochefort—all of whom had sought and obtained his advice and help—cannot well be ignored. My own article on the *Kinship and Social Structure of the Island Carib* resumés some of these points at greater length.[40]

Perhaps the most unsatisfactory part of the whole summary of Carib culture is the section on "Religion and Shamanism,"[41] which perpetuates the myth that the Carib invoked and made offerings to "the evil spirits (maboya)." Already Breton protested (and in the matter of religion, at least, he cannot be accused of prejudice in the Caribs' favor) that "There is in the belief of the Savages as much difference between Ichéiri & Mépoya as between God & devil among ourselves; and it is unheard of among them that any one should offer sacrifices to mépoya,"[42] while la Borde notes: "Ils craignent Miboia, mais ils ne lui rendent aucun culte." Thirty-five years ago Roth, in his *Animism and Folk-Lore of the Guiana Indians*, argued conclusively against this somewhat mischievous concep-

38 *Ibid.*
39 Breton, *op. cit.*, pp. 373-374.
40 Taylor, *Kinship and Social Structure; Carib Folk Beliefs.*
41 *Handbook*, pp. 561-563.
42 Breton, *Dictionnaire Caraïbe-Français*, pp. 283-284.